

Message Text

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ACTION SS-25

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P 202139Z NOV 75

FM AMEMBASSY MANAGUA

TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8459

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 1 OF 2 MANAGUA 4492

EXDIS

EO 11652: GDS

TAGS: PINT, NU

SUBJECT: TRIPARTITE LABOR UNITY TALKS CONTINUE

REF: MANAGUA 3917

SUMMARY: A LEADER OF AIFLD-ENDORSED CUS (CONFEDERATION OF LABOR UNITY) REPORTS THAT UNITY TALKS AMONG CUS, THE SOCIAL CHRISTIAN AND THE COMMUNIST CONFEDERATIONS ARE CONTINUING IN EARNEST. CUS BELIEVES THAT ITS EXISTENCE IS THREATENED BY THE GON'S HOSTILE LABOR POLICY AND UNIFICATION MAY BE ITS ONLY RECOURSE. IF TREND TOWARD UNITY CONTINUES USG LIKELY TO BE PLACED IN EMBARRASSING POSITION VIS A VIS GON AND TRADE UNION MOVEMENT. EMB DOES NOT CONSIDER CHANCES FOR EVENTUAL UNITY ESPECIALLY BRIGHT, BUT EFFORT MAY AFFECT FUTURE SOCIO-POLITICAL PICTURE. END SUMMARY

1. CUS (AIFLD SUPPORTED) LABOR LEADER JULIO MAYORGA MET WITH EMBOFF NOVEMBER 11 TO DISCUSS DEVELOPMENTS IN SOLIDARITY TALKS AMONG CUS, CGT-I AND CTN REPORTED REFTEL. MAYORGA, A MEMBER OF THE CUS EXECUTIVE BORAD AND PRESIDENT OF THE AIRLINE WORKERS' UNION, IS ALSO A PAID AIFLD INTERN. BECAUSE OF HIS PERSONAL STAKE IN THESE DEVELOPMENTS, HIS COMMENTS ON THE LABOR SITUATION, ESPECIALLY ON UNIFICATION EFFORTS, ARE EXTREMELY NOTEWORTHY. BUT FOR THE SAME REASONS THEY MUST BE TREATED AS DISCREETLY AS POSSIBLE.

2. MAYORGA CHARGED THAT THE GON IS BASICALLY AFRAID OF
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A STRONG LOBOR MOVEMENT AND HAD CONSISTENTLY TRIED TO KEEP

IT WEAK. THE IMPLEMENTATION OF THIS POLICY HAS SHIFTED SHARPLY UNDER LABOR MINISTER JULIO CARDOZE HE SIAD, FROM ONE OF PROMOTING A GENERALLY STATIC SITUATION AND WILLINGNESS TO CONFRONT THE CTN AND CGT-I TO ONE OF ACTIVELY PROMOTING GOVERNMENT CGT-O UNIONS AND BUYING TIME BY PLACATING THE POLITICALLY MILITANT CONFEDERATIONS. AS NEITHER PRO-GOVERNMENT NOR MILITANT, CUS HAS BEEN THE NATURAL VICTIM IN THIS NEW LINE. MAYORGA THOUGHT THAT CUS WAS PARTICULARLY VULNERABLE TO THIS POLICY BECAUSE IT HAS BEEN MORE COMMITTED THAN EITHER THE COMMUNISTS OR SOCIAL CHRISTIANS TO OBEY THE LETTER OF THE LAW AND THEREFORE MORE DEPENDENT THAN THEY ARE ON MINISTRY INTERPRETATIONS AND DECISIONS (MAYORGA AND OTHER CUS LEADERS HAVE FRQUENTLY REFLECTED TO EMBOFFS ON OTHER OCCASIONS THAT THE AIFLD PRECEPT OF ABIDING BY THE LAW IS DIFFICULT TO RECONCILE WITH THE REALITIES OF THE LOCAL SITUATION AND OFTEN PLACES CUS AT A DISADVANTAGE WITH ITS RIVALS). THE PRESENT NON SOMOCISTA LABOR STRUCTURE IS TOO FRAGMENTED, TOO SUSCEPTIBLE TO DIVIDE AND CONQUER TACTICS, TO DEFEND ITSELF AGAINST THE KIND OF AGGRESSIVELY HOSTILE POLICY THAT THE GON IS CARRYING OUT. THEREFORE UNITY, HE DECLARED, NOW APPEARS TO BE THE PRECONDITION OF A VIABLE, INDEPENDENT LABOR MOVEMENT.

3. CUS, CTN, AND CGT-I HAVE PARTICIPATED IN THREE DISCUSSIONS (THE TEACHERS' UNION TOOK PART IN THE FIRST AND WAS PRESENT AS AN OBSERVER IN THE LAST TWO OVER THE PAST SEVERAL WEEKS). DESPITE THE RECOGNITION OF DEEP POLITICAL AND IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES, THE CONFEDERATIONS HAVE BEEN ENCOURAGED THUS FAR BY THE LACK OF POLEMICS IN THEIR DISCUSSIONS. THEY HAVE NEARLY WORKED OUT A NO-RAIDING AGREEMENT WHICH CUS HAS ALREADY PUT INTO PRACTICE BY REFUSING RECENT EMPLOYER-MINISTRY REQUEST TO ATTEMPT TO ORGANIZE A SECOND UNION WHERE THE CGT-I WAS ALREADY ESTABLISHED. MAYORGA SAID HE WAS OPTIMISTIC ABOUT HAMMERING OUT A GENERAL COOPERATION AGREEMENT WITH THE OTHER TWO. IF THIS WORKS OUT, HE PREDICTED THAT FURTHER TALKS WOULD LEAD TO THE FORMATION OF A SINGLE LABOR CENTRAL IN THE NEXT 12-24 MONTHS.

4. DURING THE CONVERSATION, MAYORGA DODGED QUESTIONS ABOUT CONTRADICTIONS BETWEEN AIFLD'S ANTI-COMMUNIST POLICY AND A UNIFICATION EFFORT EMBRACING THE COMMUNISTS. HE REITERATED
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HIS OWN ABHORRENCE OF COMMUNISM, BUT HINTED THAT HE HOPED AIFLD WOULD UNDERSTAND THAT THE UNITY PATH PROVIDED THE ONLY SALVATION FOR A NONGOVERNMENT CONTROLLED LABOR MOVEMENT. IF SOMOZA FELL, HE ARGUED, A STRONG LABOR MOVEMENT WITH A

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TO SECSTATE WASHDC PRIORITY 8460

C O N F I D E N T I A L SECTION 2 OF 2 MANAGUA 4492

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MAJORITY OF NONCOMMUNISTS WOULD OFFER A BETTER GUARANTEE THAN THE CONTINUATION OF THE PRESENT LABOR STRUCTURE THAT NICARAGUA WOULD NOT BECOME ANOTHER PORTUGAL.

5. MAYORGA ACKNOWLEDGED THAT AIFLD HAD CREATED CUS AND NURTURED IT UP TO THIS POINT. ALSO, THE AMEMBASSY CONNECTION HAD HELPED RESTRAIN GON FROM REPRISALS IN THE PAST. BUT HE SUGGESTED THAT SOME OF THE CUS' PRESENT PROBLEMS MAY BE PARTLY A RESULT OF ITS AIFLD IDENTIFICATION AND CARDOZE'S REACTION TO IT. CARDOZE, HE CLAIMED, HAD CHARGED THAT BOTH AIFLD AND AFL-CIO WERE INSTRUMENTS OF THE CIA. MAYORGA ALSO RECALLED THAT DURING THE CONFLICT IN TRYING TO ORGANIZE SOMOZA'S LA NICA AIRLINE, CARDOZE MAINTAINED THAT AN AIFLD-CONTROLLED UNION IN THE AIRLINE WOULD JEOPARDIZE NICARAGUA'S NATIONAL SECURITY. MAYORGA WAS CONVINCED THAT CARDOZE IS OUT TO DESTROY CUS AND THAT PART OF HIS MOTIVATION IS HIS ATTITUDE TOWARD THE US. (MAYORGA'S OBSERVATIONS ABOUT CARDOZE COINCIDE WITH THOSE OF OTHER USG EMPLOYEES WHO HAVE FOUND HIM ALTERNATELY FRIENDLY AND ANTAGONISTIC TO THE US)

6. COMMENT: MAYORGA IS BY FAR MOST CAPABLE AND INFLUENTIAL ELEMENT IN CUS AND HIS COMMENTS CAN PROBABLY BE INTERPRETED EITHER AS A REFLECTION OF CUS' GENERAL INCLINATIONS OR AS INDICATING THE DIRECTION WHICH THE ORGANIZATION IS BEING LED. THERE EXISTS THE POSSIBILITY, HOWEVER, THAT MAYORGA, IN AN ATTEMPT TO INDUCE STRONGER US SUPPORT FOR CUS, MAY BE PAINTING AN EXAGGERATEDLY DESPERATE PICTURE OF THE OPTIONS AVAILABLE TO CUS. BUT WE DOUBT IT SINCE HE WAS NEITHER APOLOGETIC NOR DID
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HE MAKE ANY REQUESTS FOR MORE AID DURING THE CONVERSATION.

7. IF MAYORGA IS TO BE BELIEVED, CUS IS IN EFFECT WILLING TO GAMBLE ITS RELATIONSHIP WITH AIFLD AGAINST A BUDDING COOPERATION WITH COMMUNISTS AND OTHERS IN THE BELIEF THAT THIS WILL MAXIMIZE THE BENEFITS FOR ITS CONSTITUENCY. BUT HIS DEPICTION OF CUS' DIFFICULTIES WITH THE GON CONFIRMS OUR OWN PERCEPTIONS AND EMB UNABLE TO ARGUE VERY STRONGLY THAT CUS FACES VERY BRIGHT FUTURE IF PRESENT TREND CONTINUES. NEVERTHELESS, CUS' GESTURES TOWARD COMMUNISTS AND SOCIAL CHRISTIANS WHILE IT STILL IS PROTEGE OF AIFLD ARE LIKELY TO COMPLICATE AND EMBARRASS OUR POSITION HERE. AIFLD AND USG WILL APPEAR AS SOMETHING LESS THAN FRIEND OF THE WORKING MAN IF WE ATTEMPT TO PRESSURE CUS OUT OF PRESENT COURSE WITHOUT SUGGESTING ANY LEGITIMATE ALTERNATIVE. TO STICK WITH CUS DURING THIS GAMBIT WOULD UNDOUBTEDLY BRING US INTO CONFRONTATION SITUATION WITH SOMOZA. SOMOZA HAS ALREADY EXPRESSED TO US HIS RESENTMENT OF CUS/AIFLD ORGANIZING ACTIVITIES AT HIS BUSINESS ENTERPRISES AND HAS INDICATED THAT HE WAS LOSING WHATEVER PATIENCE HE ONCE MIGHT HAVE HAD WITH CUS EVEN BEFORE THE RECENT ROUND OF UNITY TALKS. PROGRESS TOWARDS SOLIDARITY WITH THE CTN AND CGT-I (WHICH EXACERBATING THE MATTER FURTHER) ARE LINKED WITH SOMOZA'S LONGTIME ENEMY PEDRO JOAQUIN CHAMORRO IN THEIR MEMBERSHIP IN UDEL) WOULD CONFIRM THE GON'S ASSESSMENT OF CUS AS AN UNWHOLESOME ELEMENT IN THE SOCIO-ECONOMIC SITUATION. IT WOULD ALSO LIKELY MAKE IT THE OBJECT OF EVEN GREATER GOVERNMENTAL VINDICTIVENESS.

8. EXPERIENCE SUGGESTS THAT THE PATH TO SUCCESSFUL UNIFICATION OF THE NON SOMOCISTA LABOR CONFEDERATIONS WILL BE FULL OF OBSTACLES. IDEOLOGICAL DIFFERENCES ARE UNLIKELY TO REMAIN SUBMERGED FOR VERY LONG RESULTING IN SUSPICIONS AND RECRIMINATIONS LIKELY TO UNDERMINE THE SUPPOSEDLY NON POLITICAL CHARACTER OF ANY UNDERSTANDING. PERSONAL AND ORGANIZATIONAL JEALOUSIES WILL PROBABLY FURTHER COMPLICATE THE EFFORT. THE GON, THREATENED BY THE PROSPECT OF SOLIDARITY, CAN BE EXPECTED TO USE EVERY DEVICE AT ITS COMMAND TO ACCENTUATE THE DIFFICULTIES AND OTHERWISE COMBAT THE EFFORT. NEVERTHELESS, THE EFFORT TOWARD UNITY ITSELF MAY PRODUCE SOME CONCESSIONS FROM THE GON IN THE LABOR SECTOR. IT COULD ALSO BECOME A VERY IMPORTANT FACTOR IN BOOSTING THE SAGGING FORTUNES OF THE

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OVERT POLITICAL OPPOSITION WHICH IS BEING ECLIPSED BY GON ENTROPISM ON ONE SIDE AND SYMPATHY FOR THE FSLN ON THE OTHER.

WARNER

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